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Resolved, that, to this end, it is the judgment of this Congress that the governments should provide that the Hague Conference shall hereafter be a permanent institution, with representatives from all the nations, meeting periodically for the regular and systematic consideration of the international problems constantly arising in the intercourse of the nations, and that we invite our government to instruct its delegates to the coming Conference to secure, if possible, action in this direction;

Resolved, that, as a logical sequence of the first Hague Conference, the Hague Court should be open to all the nations of the world;

Resolved, that a general treaty of arbitration for ratification by all the nations should be drafted by the coming Conference, providing for the reference to the Hague Court of international disputes which may hereafter arise, which cannot be adjusted by diplomacy;

Resolved, that the Congress records its endorsement of the resolution adopted by the Interparliamentary Union at its conference last July, that in case of disputes arising between nations which it may not be possible to embrace within the terms of an arbitration convention, the disputing parties, before resorting to force, shall always invoke the services of an International Commission of Inquiry, or the mediation of one or more friendly powers;

Resolved, that our government be requested to urge upon the coming Hague Conference the adoption of the proposition, long advocated by our country, to extend to private property at sea the same immunity from capture in war as now shelters private property on land;

Resolved, that the time has arrived for decided action towards the limitation of the burdens of armaments, which have enormously increased since 1899, and the government of the United States is respectfully requested and urged to instruct its delegates to the coming Hague Conference to support, with the full weight of our national influence, the proposition of the British government as announced by the Prime Minister, to have, if possible, the subject of armaments considered by the Conference;

Resolved, that the Congress highly appreciates the eminent services of President Roosevelt in bringing the Hague Court into successful operation, in exercising his good offices for restoring peace between Russia and Japan, in preventing, in coöperation with Mexico, a threatened war in Central America, and in initiating, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, the assembling of a second International Peace Conference at The Hague. It congratulates him upon the reception of the Nobel prize as a just recognition of his efficient services for peace;

Resolved, that the distinguished services of the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, to the cause of international peace and goodwill, during his recent visits to the South American capitals and to Canada, be accorded the grateful recognition of this Congress;

Resolved, that we thank the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, for the noble stand which he has taken in favor of a settled policy of peace among the nations, and of a limitation and reduction of the military and naval burdens now weighing upon the world;

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent by a committee of this Congress, to be appointed by the

President of the Congress, to President Roosevelt, to Secretary Root, and to each of the United States delegates to the forthcoming Hague Conference.

Proceedings of the National Peace Congress.

A Great and Impressive Gathering.

What the Coming Hague Conference Should Do.

BY JAMES L. TRYON.

The first National Arbitration and Peace Congress of America, for which preparations have been making for three or four months past, was held in New York City from April 14 to 17. Of thirty thousand formal invitations given to attend it, from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred were accepted. Delegates registered from thirty-eight States, New York State having by far the largest number present, because of its nearness to the place of meeting, and New York City for the same reason sending more delegates than any other city. But States as far east as Maine and New Hampshire, as far south as Alabama and Texas, and as far west as Colorado and California sent delegates; while the Middle West was also well represented.

The Congress brought together a great variety of interests. It included almost every phase of organized American life. There were in attendance members of the President's Cabinet, the House of Representatives, the United States Courts and State Legislatures, mayors and governors, editors and authors, members of patriotic, philanthropic and ethical societies, churches, women's clubs, schools and colleges, labor organizations, manufacturers' associations and boards of trade. Several hundred persons who were not delegates took membership tickets in order to follow with equal interest its proceedings. Besides these were the public at large. Carnegie Hall, where the principal sessions of the Congress were held, was usually filled from the floor to the top-most gallery, which meant an attendance of four thousand persons, to say nothing of overflow meetings which were at times held in neighboring halls or churches, and which several thousands more attended, or the throngs of people who had to be turned away.

While the occasion brought many people for the first time into contact with the peace movement and proved to be for them an education in the cause, a large proportion of those in attendance, to whom it was also the greatest possible inspiration, were already well informed in regard to it, having been workers in peace and arbitration societies for years. Several of these had attended the Mohonk Conferences or had served on committees of the American Peace Society or its auxiliaries, like the Cincinnati Peace Society, the Hartford and the German-American Peace Societies, and Friends' Peace Associations. Not a few of them had taken part in universal peace congresses, either in Boston or the capitals of the Old World. Altogether there was an intelligent, sometimes a critical, but always a receptive and enthusiastic audience. Applause was frequently and warmly given, but while there were one or two exciting moments during passages between speakers, the best of order prevailed. Several of the speakers had apparently only begun to investigate the movement and knew less about it than

the average peace advocate in the audience, but this fact was an advantage rather than a hindrance to the meetings, for while these speakers confused their old ideas of military patriotism with their new thoughts of universal brotherhood, or mingled their fears of other nations with their faith in them, and measured the ideal carefully against the practical side of the question, they delivered the Congress from the charge of one-sidedness, and made it a conference for the exchange of sentiments rather than an exclusively peace and arbitration gathering at which no adverse views could be tolerated. And incidentally this healthy difference of opinion gave an opportunity for the deeper students of the movement, when it came their turn to speak, to reply to those who had preceded them, and thus to correct common misconceptions that linger in the popular mind.

Another feature that lent variety to the addresses made at the Congress, giving it color and personality and making its international point of view seem more real by a concrete example of brotherliness, was the presence of visitors from abroad. These visitors had the week before taken part in the dedicatory exercises of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg and were the guests of Mr. Carnegie. They occupied seats on the platform whenever they came to the sessions and were everywhere highly honored. Among these were Dr. John Rhys, head of Jesus College and Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford; Rev. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; Col. Sir Robert Cranston, ex-Lord Provost of Edinburgh; W. T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, member of the French Senate, and head of the French Section of the Society of International Conciliation; and "Maarten Maartens," the Dutch author.

The Congress, proposed in the first instance by the American Peace Society, and promoted by the Peace Society of the city of New York, was organized with Andrew Carnegie as President, Robert Erskine Ely as Secretary, and a long list of distinguished vice-presidents. The arrangements for it were made by an Executive Committee, of which Prof. Samuel T. Dutton, of the Teachers' College of Columbia University, was the chairman. There was a large General Committee on the Congress selected from prominent people in nearly every State in the Union, besides Finance, Reception, Decoration, Music and Dinner Committees, Legislative and Judiciary Committees, as well as Committees on Commerce and Industry, Municipalities, Patriotic Societies, Organized Labor, Universities, Schools, Churches and Societies, and a long list of State Superintendents of Education. One of the most active committees from the first was the Press Committee, of which Hamilton Holt, managing editor of the *New York Independent*, was the chairman. The Committee on Resolutions, to whom was given the important duty of summing up the conclusions of the Congress, consisted of Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, chairman, Andrew Carnegie, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Chancellor William MacCracken, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Robert U. Johnson, Judge George C. Holt, Judge George Gray, Hon. Samuel B. Capen and Daniel Smiley.

A reception room was fitted up in the Carnegie Building in which there was a post office, a bureau of infor-

mation, a railroad agency, the executive office, with typewriters, registration tables for clerks, and a booth for literature, of which a large quantity was distributed. This room was one of the busiest places to be seen in connection with the Congress. The New York workers, under the charge of Professor Dutton and Mr. Ely, gave themselves up to their great task of organization with the utmost energy, devotion and efficiency. Although the Congress was far larger than was anticipated, and difficulties were constantly presented by a thousand and one details and emergencies, the workers performed their duties with great credit to themselves and satisfaction to the delegates.

A SUNDAY OF CONSECRATION.

Sunday, the 14th, was observed in many cities as a Peace Sunday. It is estimated that throughout the nation some thousands of sermons were preached on peace, one hundred of them in New York City. At the morning hour a large meeting was held in the First Church of Christ, Scientist, which was opened by Hayne Davis and addressed by Baron Eugene de Ferson of St. Petersburg, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and Congressman Bartholdt. The Ethical Culture Society, under the leadership of Prof. Felix Adler, also listened to Baron d'Estournelles, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and William T. Stead. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson preached to fifteen hundred people in the Broadway Tabernacle Church. The Tabernacle was again filled in the afternoon, when addresses were made by Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, Rabbi Joseph Silverman and Mr. Stead. At this meeting Mr. Stead criticised the ministry and the churches for their indifference to the peace cause.

In the evening the formal dedicatory services of the Congress were held in Carnegie Hall. The decorations of the auditorium were appropriate to the occasion. Around the tiers of boxes were the flags of all nations, the American flag and banners bearing a white cross on a blue field being repeated at intervals. There were shields of David here and there, and the names printed in gold letters of Hugo, Richard, Ladd, Burritt, Sumner, Kant, Grotius and others, who in the past have been identified with the cause of peace. Hung behind the platform were crossed American peace flags, the national shield and the eagle, pendants bearing the motto "Peace for all nations," and the word "Peace" made in large letters in electric lights. The Oratorio Society of New York, with full orchestra, under the direction of Mr. Frank Damrosch, furnished music. Dr. Jefferson led a responsive reading. Bishop Potter of New York, in the absence of Mr. Carnegie, whose train was delayed, presided, made a short speech endorsing the purposes of the Congress, and introduced as the principal speakers of the evening Rabbi Hirsch and Father Lavelle. The beautiful music, the distinguished gathering and the theme of peace itself made it possible for Rabbi Hirsch, in his address on the "Advent of the Plow," the symbol of industry, taking the place of the sword, the emblem of destruction, to touch deeply the religious emotions of the congregation. Father Lavelle, the Vicar-General of Archbishop Farley, having first explained that the latter was unavoidably detained by a meeting in Washington, read a letter from him, which among other things contained a plea for the restoration of the power of the

Papacy as a means of promoting world peace. Overflow meetings were held at the Broadway Tabernacle, the Majestic Theatre and Calvary Baptist Church, which were addressed by Bishop Potter, Dr. Trueblood, Rabbi Hirsch, Edwin D. Mead, Dr. Robert Stuart MacArthur, Rabbi Schulman and others.

While these meetings were in progress a dispatch was received from George T. Angell of Boston, stating that a meeting of a thousand members of the Bands of Mercy in Tremont Temple had passed a resolution urging upon the Hague Conference soon to be held that statues like that of the Christ of the Andes be erected on the boundaries of nations, and that no wars be made until such statues have been taken down and destroyed.

THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE CONGRESS.

The opening session of the Congress proper began on Monday afternoon at three o'clock, and was devoted in part to addresses of welcome. Hon. George B. McClellan, the Mayor of New York, extended the hospitality of the city. Mr. Ely, in a clear and sympathetic voice, read a letter addressed by President Roosevelt to Mr. Carnegie, in which he said that while "It is our bounden duty to work for peace, yet it is even more our duty to work for righteousness and justice," as righteousness, though peace is normally its handmaid, is what exalts a nation. In referring to the problem of disarmament the President recommended limiting the size of battle-ships. His letter was listened to with every mark of courtesy, but not with the enthusiasm which was shown for the speakers. Mr. Carnegie afterwards spoke with feeling on the subject of righteousness and justice, preferring to associate together the thought of righteousness and peace. Secretary of State Root in his address, which was read from manuscript, received close attention. He went deeply into the fundamental problems of human nature and political action raised by the attempt to put an end to war. In another part of his speech, in which he broke away from the diplomatic restraint which was apparent in his beginning and expressed fully his individual views, he received hearty applause. This was particularly noticeable when he referred to "the strain of idealism in the American nature which saves our nation from the grossness of materialism and makes it responsive to every appeal in behalf of liberty and righteousness, of peace with justice, and of human brotherhood the world over;" and again when he said, "The path to universal peace is not through reason or intellectual appreciation, but through the development of peace-loving and peace-keeping character among men." This speech, which also takes up matters for consideration by the Hague Conference, is printed in full in the present number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The President's letter was published in all the daily papers.

Gov. Charles E. Hughes followed Mr. Root with the hearty welcome of the State to the delegates, a tribute to its distinguished men who had helped the cause of peace, and an address on the general subject of peace and war which left no doubt among his hearers of his independence of mind or his earnest desire for the triumph of their idea. With one possible exception, no speaker received such an ovation as Governor Hughes. Mr. Carnegie, who presided, was finally obliged to sup-

press the prolonged applause which greeted him by saying good-naturedly, "Have mercy on the Governor!" There was something about his splendid bearing, his tall, handsome figure, and probably the fact that he was felt to be a reform leader, that singled him out as a favorite. The portion of his address which called forth the most approval is as follows:

"There are few, if any, to plead the cause of war in general, however it may be defended in particular. Statesmen and soldiers alike condemn it, and against its monstrous cruelties and wastefulness commerce and sentiment are allied. The necessity of war as a last defense of liberty and honor is admitted only to be deprecated, and in the desire to prevent armed strife there is almost complete unanimity. There may still be those who believe in the beneficent effects of the discipline of war and who shrink from contemplating a society enervated by exclusive devotion to the pursuits of peace. Undoubtedly benefits have been conferred by war. Against the dark background of ruin, desolation, and death, the elemental virtues of humanity have stood out in bold relief. And aside from the important and beneficial results of certain wars, the world has largely learned its lessons of courage and fortitude; of the supremacy of duty and the sacred obligations of honor from those who, in fierce but heroic struggle, have revealed the noblest qualities of humanity. 'He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him.'

"But, while we justly appraise these consequences of past conflicts, we also know well their cost, and we keenly appreciate the frightful evils and the enormous wastes which have been incident to the evolution of the race through strife. We rejoice that the currents of progress lead to peace and that the time will come, although it may be distant, when war will be unthinkable.

"We can no longer look to war for the development of either national or individual character. The heroics of war have been replaced by mathematical calculations. If it was ever anything else, it is now unmitigated horror exhibiting chiefly fiendish aspects of ingenuity and scientific skill in destruction. Under our modern conditions of civilization, the supposed beneficent results of war in the development of courage and stamina must in any conceivable event be shared by so few of our teeming populations that even the most sanguine must realize that the time has gone by when by any stretch of imagination it can be regarded as a general disciplinary agent. And in the controversies of peace, and in the bloodless struggles for the maintenance of truth and justice in our personal and civic relations, must be found the arena of the future in which character may find severer tests than ever were afforded by historic battlefields."

Mr. Carnegie reserved his speech to the last, and, besides speaking of righteousness and justice, took an opportunity to advocate his League of Peace idea, which he explains in his now celebrated Rectorial Address. Among other things he said:

"War now involves the interests of all, and therefore one nation has no longer a right to break the peace without reference to others. Nations hereafter should be asked to remember this, and not to resort to war, but to settle their disputes peacefully.

"Leaving out of sight material interests, the savagery

of war, from a moral and religious point of view, cries aloud to civilized man and rouses him to the firm resolve that it shall disgrace our civilization no longer. War never settles who is right, but who is strong. Might, not right, conquers.

"Before resorting to force it would be well to begin by proclaiming non-intercourse with the offending nation. No exchange of products, no loans, no military or naval supplies, no mails—these restrictions would serve as a solemn warning and probably prove effective."

He hoped that the great peacemaker of the future would be President Roosevelt, but thought at present the abolition of war was in the hands of the German Emperor alone of all men.

MONDAY EVENING SESSION.

The evening session was devoted to "International Views of the Peace Movement." Mr. Carnegie again presided. The foreign visitors were all on the platform. The first speech was made by Baron d'Estournelles, who, though suffering from a cold and speaking our language with only moderate ease, was cordially received by the audience and given, as he was always afterwards, the recognition due to his great service to the cause of arbitration and peace. He kept his audience in the best of spirits by his cheerful manner, and at the same time impressed them seriously with his simple earnestness. Other speakers were Prof. Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard, whose subject was "Germany, a Land of Peace and Industry," Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, whose topic was "The Recipient of the Nobel Prize," Mr. Stead, Dr. Ernst Richard, President of the German-American Peace Society, Sir Robert Cranston and Sir Robert S. Ball. Hon. William J. Bryan, who was on the platform, was asked to speak, but wished to be excused until his turn came on the program.

At this meeting an interesting incident occurred between Mr. Carnegie and Professor Münsterberg, about which the daily papers with an instinct for sensation went into particulars the next day. Professor Münsterberg had shown in his speech that the Germans, far from being a menace to other nations, were a peace-loving and peace-keeping people, devoted to their homes and their industries, not as the Anglo-Saxons, who like betting and sporting and seek to outdo their rivals, but quietly preferring to do good for its own sake. The German Emperor had been characterized as the war-lord of our time, but unjustly. His reign, owing to its strength and firmness, had been the most powerful influence for peace and international friendship. As this country well knew, he had sent to America his brother, friends, artists, professors, sporting yachts and museum treasures to show his goodwill towards us. "If a sculptor were to create to-day a statue of the Goddess of Peace," said Professor Münsterberg, "he might safely choose as his model Fair Germania with the Emperor's crown on her head, with a pure sword in her hand and with mild eyes calmly looking down on a serious yet happy nation of laborers who work for the eternal good of peaceful civilization."

To none of these sentiments from the heart of a loyal and patriotic German, such as the professor is known to be, was any exception taken. Delegates in the audience, who by travel are acquainted with the interior life of Germany, felt that in describing the disposition of his people the speaker had the truth on his side. Others,

who have to take their information at second hand and necessarily share in popular prejudices, were grateful to be reminded that, whatever their suspicions of Emperor William, he had not gone to war during his reign. But there was something in the manner of the speaker and in his attempt to justify German militarism that lost him the sympathy of his hearers and drew forth, when he had finished, a spirited reply from Mr. Carnegie, who seemed to express their feelings exactly. The particular passage in his speech which was the cause of disagreement was as follows: "Germany is prosperous to-day, and the expenses of the army are felt by the nation hardly more than fire insurance is felt by a good householder. Nor does the time lost through the years of service much impair the national economy in a country whose population grows rapidly."

Mr. Carnegie repeated what he had said in the afternoon, that the German Emperor might become a great power for peace, and showed that he had the greatest respect for him, but expressed his surprise at what Professor Münsterberg had said in regard to the ease with which the German people carried their military burdens. First walking up and down the platform, and then looking straight at the speaker, who had now become seated, Mr. Carnegie, very much to the amusement of the audience, said: "I must take exception to the professor's statement that the armies of Germany are not a burden on her people. I would like to take him to the mills at Pittsburg and have him ask the thousands of Germans there why they left their German homes and came to this country. When I started in business I had a German partner. I have had many German partners, many of whom are millionaires now. I have said to them, 'Why did you leave Germany?' and the reply has always been, 'I have two boys in my family and I would not have them in the barracks.'" [Applause.]

"It is said that we are taking the best blood out of Germany more and more every year. That is perfectly true, and the German army is responsible for it. It is too late for the professor to teach me anything on that subject. Against his theory I give you facts." [Long and emphatic applause.]

For some time after the next speaker had begun Mr. Carnegie and Professor Münsterberg, the latter apparently offended and looking very grave, carried on a dialogue in low tones, which, finally to the relief of the spectators, who had become troubled by the incident, seemed to end with that mutual understanding which becomes true peacemakers.

THE WOMEN'S MEETING.

The women's session, held Tuesday morning, to consider as its general subject "The Relation of Women to the Peace Movement," was one of the most successful meetings of the Congress. It was notable for its carefully arranged program and its variety of instructive topics in logical sequence; for speeches written with literary finish and to the point. There may have been more brilliant speaking at other gatherings, and deeper notes of feeling were doubtless touched by some of the men, but no series of addresses was so uniformly good as that of the women. The presiding officer, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, with her simple but graceful introductions, her easy executive manner, kept the meeting moving and relieved it of undue formality. The St. Cecilia

Society and the Wednesday Morning Singing Club, under the direction of Mr. Victor Harris, gave the occasion an æsthetic completeness.

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston, in strong, condensed sentences, gave a "History of the Peace Movement;" Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin of Chicago, ex-President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, spoke on "The Home *versus* War;" Miss Mary E. Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke College, took for her subject "The Educational Aspects of Peace Propaganda;" and Mrs. Frederick Nathan, President of the New York Consumers' League, made an address on "Industry and Its Relation to Peace." Some of these speeches are printed in full in this issue. Miss Jane Addams, head of Hull House, Chicago, speaking on "New Ideals of Peace," emphasized the importance of giving to industry the same kind of heroic setting that had been given to war. Sir Edward Elgar of London, the musical composer, was unable to be present, but Mr. William Archer, dramatic critic of the London *Tribune*, the only man who took part in this meeting, read a clearly thought-out paper on the "Flag of Peace." He made a plea for a United States of Europe. "Why should not we," he said, "who are of this way of thinking, forthwith establish the United States of Europe, hoist and salute the union flag, and consciously and deliberately proceed to live in that union, to realize it in our thoughts, to consolidate it in our endeavors, to sanctify it in our sentiments and affections?"

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and Mrs. May Wright Sewall were on the program as special guests of honor. Mrs. Howe was unable to be present, but sent a letter, which was read by one of her daughters. Mrs. Sewall, glad to be recognized as an active fellow-worker in the cause, responded vigorously to the paper of Mr. Archer, proposing, instead of the United States of Europe, the United States of the World.

THE BUSINESS MEN'S MEETING.

The afternoon was given up to a Children's Meeting at Carnegie Hall and to a Business Men's Meeting at the Astor House. This latter meeting, called to consider the "Commercial and Industrial Aspects of the Peace Movement," was one of the most distinctive gatherings of the week. The place in which it was held, the banquet hall of a richly furnished historic hotel, filled even to the corridors with an audience of men and women who had now become fully aroused by the tension of three days of high thinking on a subject dear to their hearts, the nearness of the platform to the people, and the expectation of hearing practical business men speak, made it seem like a creative moment in the history of the Congress, and, as somebody remarked, a new departure in American patriotism. Scattered among the listeners were men who wore the button of the Loyal Legion and other veterans of the Civil War.

An elderly gentleman, who had in his pocket the original card given him by President Lincoln authorizing him to visit any part of the Union lines during the Civil War, sat near the writer and was very much absorbed in the speeches as they progressed, applauding heartily every sentiment of humanity, or taking issue with the speaker in quick, dignified criticism, if he fell below the high peace ideals of the present hour.

But, whether of the younger or the older generation,

everybody was receptive to the new spirit of internationalism and of universal brotherhood that permeated almost every speech that was made. People felt that sentiments were being expressed that had never been heard by a like assembly in this country before.

Marcus M. Marks, President of the National Association of Clothiers, who has lately come into the movement, made a happy presiding officer. He said that the merchants shared with the professional men their aversion to war, but they also had a selfish interest in promoting peace. Commerce and the welfare of the people of every country depend upon the stability of government and the friendly relations between nations. "I am told," said Mr. Marks, "that some merchants preserve a neutral attitude towards the peace movement because they believe that there is a financial gain in case of war from the sale of battleships, arms, powder, uniforms, food and other necessities. It may be true that these calculations are correct from the narrow standpoint of their own immediate interests, but no one can doubt that the general financial loss caused by the interruption of commerce on account of war far offsets this small gain to a few."

"The merchants of America certainly rise above any such consideration and stand shoulder to shoulder with the statesmen and the professional men in their earnest endeavor to extend the spirit of brotherhood till it embraces all mankind. I can speak authoritatively on this point for the National Association of Clothiers, representing the third largest manufacturing industry in the United States. At our national convention, held in Boston last month, we unanimously and enthusiastically indorsed the principles and aims of this Peace Congress. We all recognize the fact that the day for settling differences between men by the duel is practically over. As individuals we no longer try to decide who is right and who is wrong by test of swordsmanship or brute strength, but resort instead to the impartial judgment of the courts. Is it not time that differences between nations be settled in the same manner, not by arms, but by an international court of justice? Let the united voice of the business community, the practical men of affairs in this country, ring loud and true, so that its echo reverberate at the Hague Peace Conference next June with the message — 'Peace, peace, peace!'"

Baron d'Estournelles put everybody in a pleasant frame of mind by one of his felicitous speeches. He gave the credit of saving the Hague tribunal to President Roosevelt and the American people. He made a plea for the International Conciliation Association. He caught the temper of his audience to perfection when he said: "I believe it is in this country as it is in France—the really good people are more devoted to the good of their country than to the making of money."

Secretary Straus, who followed the Baron, made a speech in short, striking sentences, saying among other things: "I know of only one trade that follows the flag of war—the trade of the gravedigger. Commerce follows along the lines of least resistance, and is not expanded by the cannon's mouth. As nations have been brought nearer by intercommunication, foreign commerce has increased by leaps and bounds. Commerce is based on absolute mutuality. The welfare of nations is bound together, and each should be interested in the progress

and welfare of the other. Has it ever occurred to you that after every war follows a dreadful commercial panic?" Mr. Straus believed that nations should not be allowed to lend money to one another for the purposes of making war. This thought, afterwards more strongly emphasized by Mr. Bryan, always met with a hearty response in the audience. Although an old one to experienced peace workers, and forming no part of the resolutions of this Congress, it was one of its interesting notes.

Mr. Straus was followed by Mr. James W. Van Cleve, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, the first part of whose speech, being full of the new spirit, was favorably received; but the last part, breathing somewhat the spirit of war, awakened opposition in the audience, at times calling forth cries of "No! no!" from different sides of the hall. This was particularly the case when he said:

"To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." The speaker quoted from Washington. "These were the words of a man who was first in peace as well as first in war. And happily they are just as applicable to the America of to-day as they were to the America to which they were directed."

Mr. Van Cleve made the point that Americans cannot work effectively for international peace abroad until they have industrial peace at home. The manufacturers want international arbitration, but they want it to be supported by the sentiment of the world and, if need be, by its armies and navies, that its settlements may stay settled.

Ex-Gov. Nahum J. Batchelder of New Hampshire, Master of the National Grange, restored the normal spirit of the meeting when he pledged the farmers of the country to the peace cause.

"I am here," he said, "to represent the great industry of agriculture and those engaged in it. Agriculture furnishes the mainspring of industrial activity. The ways of agriculture are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. My only object upon this occasion, so graciously accorded me, is to express the sentiment of the farmers in regard to the disastrous effects of war and their deep interest in the object of this Peace Congress, and to pledge their support to any policies that may be inaugurated by it for the promotion of universal peace."

Other speakers were William McCarroll, President of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, and Mr. Edwin Ginn. The latter explained his International School of Peace. Hon. John Barrett, Chief of the Bureau of American Republics, replied to Mr. Van Cleve and carried the house with him enthusiastically. He also showed that South America to-day stood for the principles for which the Peace Congress had met, and spoke of the magnificent service to the cause of international peace which Secretary Root had performed by his tour in South America.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S MEETING.

One of the most impressive meetings of the whole Congress was the Young People's Meeting, Tuesday afternoon, when four thousand children came together in Carnegie Hall, direct from the schoolroom. Surrounded by the flags of the nations, interspersed with the flag of peace, these bright, intelligent faces seemed to prophesy a straight road to international amity. What

grander sight than the magnificent chorus of five hundred boys and girls leading this vast assemblage in the songs of peace! The very walls seemed to echo the feeling of goodwill toward men. These boys and girls were selected delegates from the public and private schools of New York, and were instructed to report the meeting to their respective schools. Not the least interesting to the observer was the intelligent use of the notebook, which gave assurance of future peace talks in the schools. Each child was presented with an artistic program, on the cover of which was the peace flag with the date of the meeting. Inside was printed the program of the afternoon, the names of the distinguished men and women who had arranged this National Peace Congress, the words of the songs which the children sang, two pages of information about the peace movement, and the pictures of five persons who have received the Nobel peace prize.

The meeting was opened with reading from the Scripture by W. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of the New York schools, who presided, giving an address of welcome.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant told the audience that French children are just like the American children, having the same virtues and faults. He urged these young people to grow up with love in their hearts for the French children, German children, and all the children of the world. "And then," he said, "when you grow up, you will not want to fight each other." As a manifestation of his great respect for American homes which he had seen, he offered a resolution, which was carried unanimously, that the children of New York send a telegram of love and goodwill to the children of President Roosevelt.

Mr. Henry Turner Bailey then gave an address on the "Peace Movement and the Arts." The children comprehended his meaning when he said, "War has swallowed up all but a handful of the wonderful works of the artists and craftsmen of a thousand generations."

Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania, spoke of the possibilities of the school system to further the movement for international peace, declaring that peaceful victories are nobler than military ones, and explained how unnecessary war is at the present time.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Dr. James Walsh also made brief and appropriate remarks.

The picture of the Christ of the Andes was brilliantly set forth by Senorita Huidobro, who convinced the children that what Chile and Argentine had done could be done by every country upon the globe.

Prof. Charles Sprague Smith offered a resolution that the children of New York take the initiative in forming a League of Peace of school children in the whole country. The resolution was enthusiastically adopted.

W. T. Stead extended England's greeting and spoke on "What Young Folks Can Do."

One of the most remarkable features of the meeting was the enthusiastic manner in which the boys responded to the appeals for a higher type of patriotism, consistent with love and helpfulness to those of other nations.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

During the day the college delegates held a meeting in Earl Hall of Columbia University, which was

addressed by Professor John Bassett Moore and Professor George W. Kirchwey, Dean of the Columbia Law School, Dr. Henry Drinker, President of Lehigh University, Professor Clark of the College of the City of New York, and Professor Ernst Richard of Columbia University. A committee was appointed to promote and organize an intercollegiate peace movement. Delegates from women's colleges met at Barnard College and were addressed by Mrs. Henrotin.

The principal meeting for students, however, was held at Carnegie Hall in the evening. Representatives from various colleges, young women as well as young men, took the delegates' seats on the floor of the house while a row of West Point cadets in uniform, with the Glee Clubs of Columbia and Yale, made an interesting circle behind the distinguished company of professors on the platform.

President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, the chairman, remarked in his opening address that it had been a full generation since the nations of Europe had stained their hands with war against each other, and that never before had there been such economic and industrial progress as in this era of peace. "Believe me," he said, "the moral integrity of the nation is shown not by surrender to militarism, but by stern resistance to it." He affirmed, what this large body of students and instructors by their presence and what the whole spirit of the occasion showed, that college men and women heartily endorse the movement for arbitration and peace. "Scholarship, science, knowledge," he said, "are varying names for the instrument with which universities work. Scholarship, science, knowledge, are truly international. They know no limitations of speech, and no political boundaries can contain or restrain them. They serve to unite and to unify mankind as no other agency or power has ever been able to do. Of necessity, because of their origin in the depth of the spirit and of their aim in highest human aspiration, they offer generous and enthusiastic coöperation in the cause which this Congress is called to promote."

Dr. John Rhys of Oxford referred to his experience in Germany during the Franco-Prussian War, when educated men were taken from the universities and marched side by side with peasants into battle. It was a pitiful sight, which impressed him very profoundly, to see picked philologists treated as so much food for powder. Dr. Rhys called attention to the Rhodes scholarships for Americans at Oxford as an effective means of promoting international peace and goodwill.

Vice-Chancellor E. S. Roberts of Cambridge University suggested that the clergy of all nations unite in giving one Sunday to preaching peace ideas.

Prof. Felix Adler, whose appointment as Roosevelt professor at Berlin for 1908-1909 was announced as news, to the great delight of the meeting, declared that educated men should stand for calm deliberation in times of national excitement like those recalled by the cry "Remember the Maine," and in a beautiful appeal proposed that the students work as unselfishly for peace as the unknown cathedral builders of the Middle Ages labored for their religious ideals.

President John H. Finley of the City College, New York, Miss Jane Addams of Chicago, and Edwin D. Mead of Boston also spoke. Mr. Mead referred appreciatively to the four significant speeches made on the

peace cause within the year by President Eliot of Harvard, whose absence from the meeting he regretted. Mr. Mead also appealed to his auditors as educated men. He believed that no class of men had on the whole been so faithful and heroic as the scholars. In a speech of stirring eloquence he mentioned the illustrious names that have come down to us with the history of the world's reforms. In closing he made this telling comparison:

"None of us ever forgets that Washington and Franklin, greatest founders of the Republic, that Garrison and Lincoln, preëminent in the anti-slavery struggle, were not trained in college halls; and especially I would not have you forget that the leaders in both great struggles, like the leaders in all great struggles, over and over, found great classes of privileged and cultivated men ranged like flint against them, and the 'plain people' their support. Learn history just as it is, and see what poor creatures the scholars of the past who closed their ears to the call of the future appear to the generation after them, and see the world's gratitude and obligation to her long line of scholars who had faith and faithfulness."

The meeting closed with the singing of "America."

MEETING OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

On the same evening, at a special session of the Congress, and with an audience of fifteen hundred persons, the representatives of organized labor met at Cooper Union Hall and also endorsed the principles of the peace movement. Their chairman was Joseph R. Buchanan, a writer on labor topics. Their speakers were W. T. Stead, Dr. Algernon S. Crapey, Terence V. Powderly, formerly Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, James J. Murphy, President of the New York Typographical Union No. 6, Miss Leonora O'Reilly of the Woman's Trade Union League, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers carried his audience with him when he showed the heavy burden laid by war upon the laboring classes. "The spirit of war," he said, "must give way to the conscience, justice and right of manhood and intelligence and humanity. Nor will we workers long consent to permit ourselves to be utilized as the fighting force to be murdered and mowed down to conquer the markets of barbarians." While he deemed disarmament at the present time hazardous, he hoped that the American delegates at The Hague would work to prevent an increase in the fighting force of the nations.

CONFERENCE OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Before the Congress opened on Wednesday, a conference of the women was held in the Tabernacle Church to discuss methods of work. Addresses were made by Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Harry Hastings of the New York School Board, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Miss S. N. Callisprey, representing the Department of Education in Greece, Mrs. Elizabeth Powell Bond of New Jersey, and Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey of Maine, head of the Peace Department of the W. C. T. U. Mrs. Hastings condemned rifle practice in the city schools, and Mrs. Catt said she believed education along peace lines would be necessary in order to obtain the objects of the Congress. Rev. Anna Shaw, taking the point of view of the woman's suffrage leader, said: "When women get the ballot privilege they will think

twice before they vote their sons to death. The highest type of patriot is not the man who says, 'My country, right or wrong,' but one who says, 'I prefer my family to myself, my country to my family, and humanity to my country.' Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead presided at this meeting.

CONFERENCE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Wednesday morning's session was given up to the consideration of the report on resolutions, Mr. George Foster Peabody taking the chair. This meeting, though smaller in point of attendance than any of the others, was marked by deep earnestness on the part of the delegates, who were desirous that the platform should express the best and most practical thought of the Congress. Of a large number of suggestions which had been offered to the committee and considered by them in private, the following were among those that were stated to the meeting: A proposition by Mr. Clayton of the New York Bar, containing a form for a constitution of the united nations; by Mr. Hartman of Pennsylvania, recommending an international naval patrol, its expense to be apportioned among the various nations according to the amount of work it should perform for them; by Judge Murphy of Buffalo, that the Hague Court should have power to investigate the claims of a nation that intends to go to war; and general resolutions by Alfred H. Love, Francis J. Gallagher and Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood.

A resolution was offered by Judge L. E. Chamberlain, representing the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, recommending that the neutralization of the ocean highways be made a subject of study by the Hague Conference.

As the Congress was called primarily to promote the objects of the Hague Conference, it was determined from the first to concentrate all efforts upon it. An explanation made by Dr. Trueblood, who drew up the articles of the platform, expresses better than anything else the feeling of the delegates. "The committee believed," said Dr. Trueblood, "that if American public sentiment is to be brought to bear on the Hague Conference, what appears in these resolutions must be along specific, practical lines, and not cover the whole range of general peace propaganda. So, ladies and gentlemen, if your resolutions do not appear here, do not feel troubled." [Applause and laughter.] The platform of resolutions, which appears in another part of this paper, was then read and unanimously adopted, after having first been amended in minor details according to suggestions made during the discussion. Speeches in support of it were made by Congressman Bartholdt, Mr. Bryan, Chancellor MacCracken of New York University, Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, Rabbi Levy of Pittsburg, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and others.

The platform recognizes the efforts of President Roosevelt and Secretary Root in behalf of international peace, and expresses appreciation of the stand taken by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Premier of Great Britain, for the limitation of armaments. In new and distinct language, it takes similar ground to that taken by the Interparliamentary Union, with the members of which the delegates stood shoulder to shoulder in asking for that which is based upon received opinion or is in process of general acceptance by the leading public men and statesmen of the day. It recommends to the Hague

Conference the consideration of the limitation of armaments, a general treaty of arbitration, the investigation of contested issues between nations by a commission of inquiry before resort to war, the immunity from capture at sea of private property in time of war, provision that the Hague Conference be made a permanent institution, meeting periodically for the consideration of international problems, and that the Hague Court be open to all nations.

On motion of Thomas Nelson Page, the appointment of a committee was authorized to confer with a committee from the Mohonk Arbitration Conference to promote the success of the Hague Conference. The appointment of a delegation to go to Washington to present the platform of resolutions to the President and Secretary of State was, on the suggestion of Mr. Bartholdt, left to the President of the Congress. On motion of Mrs. Abbe, it was voted that a League of Peace be formed in the schools, and on motion of C. D. Pugsley of Harvard University, a committee of the Congress was empowered to coöperate with a student committee in further developing the peace propaganda in the colleges and universities. On motion of Mr. Marks of New York, the following committee was appointed as trustees to collect funds for the promotion of international peace: Andrew Carnegie, George Foster Peabody, Seth Low, James Speyer, Robert T. Paine, and Joshua L. Baily.

Mr. Marks and others having expressed a desire to see a large national peace society formed, Secretary Trueblood called attention to the fact, of which many who have lately joined the peace movement are not yet aware, that we already have such an association in the American Peace Society, and invited everybody to do his duty by it. Dr. Trueblood was made chairman of a committee to consider the feasibility of forming a federation of the various peace organizations.

Edwin D. Mead, chairman of the committee appointed to make recommendations concerning future National Congresses,—the committee consisting of Mr. Mead, James B. Reynolds, New York; Joshua L. Baily, Philadelphia; William Christie Herron, Cincinnati; Prof. Philip Van Ness Myers, Cincinnati; Rev. James L. Tryon, Boston; Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; Prof. Richard T. Ely, Madison, Wis.; W. A. Mahony, Columbus, Ohio,—reported for the committee the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee of the present Congress, representing New York, and the eight members of the Committee, representing other cities, be constituted a committee, with power to add to their number, authorized to fix the time and place of the second National Congress, and at the proper time to call a conference of representatives of various organizations interested in the peace movement and of individuals devoted to the cause, which conference shall determine the plans for the Congress and create an Executive Committee to perfect and carry out the same."

An invitation was informally given to the delegates by Rabbi Hirsch, through the Committee on Permanent Organization, to meet in Chicago next year.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL ASPECTS.

The last session of the Congress held at three o'clock in the afternoon met to discuss the legislative and judicial aspects of the peace movement. It was notable for its large attendance, for the distinguished lawyers,

statesmen and veterans in the cause of peace who sat on the platform, and for the high order of the speeches made. Before the speaking began there was an unusually solemn stillness among the spectators, due doubtless to the ever higher tension to which they had been brought by the preceding meetings and to their anticipations of the character of the speaking that was to come. But this was suddenly and pleasantly broken by an incident that was not on the program, and proved to be a surprise to Mr. Carnegie, who sat with the speakers. It was the presentation to Mr. Carnegie of a peace flag by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the flag being one of those that from the beginning had hung in the rear of the platform, the Stars and Stripes with the white border, bearing the words "Peace for all nations." The presentation was made by Captain Richmond P. Hobson, who accompanied Mrs. Helen B. Tillotson from the Association. The message that he brought read in part as follows:

"The women of the land are jealous of the nation's patriotism. They covet for this country leadership in every noble cause. They will teach the nation's children to be as valiant and as effective in the cause of peace as their forefathers were in the cause of liberty, to the end that our flag and our nation may stand forth before the world not only as guardians of liberty, but as sponsors of peace."

In accepting the flag Mr. Carnegie, who in his astonishment had held up both hands as he turned to look at it, proved to be ready with appropriate words of gratitude, and with a lesson of international unity for the nations of Europe, which he drew from the forty-six stars that appear on our national emblem. "This flag I shall keep," he said. "It shall never float over men killing one another." This was about the last expression of his enthusiasm for peace which Mr. Carnegie, the efficient presiding officer of the Congress, gave in the presence of all the members of the Congress.

Mr. Low then addressed the Congress, referring to the unfortunate constitutional question that had arisen between the President and the Senate at the time of the rejection of the arbitration treaties negotiated by Secretary Hay, but noted the fact that, as amended by the Senate, they were voted for unanimously by that body. In touching upon the Hague Court, he suggested that it should hold regular sessions for any business that should be brought before it, like ordinary judicial institutions.

Congressman Bartholdt thought it useless for the Hague Conference to waste its time in an academic discussion of disarmament, and hoped it would not be allowed to degenerate into a mere powwow for the regulation of war. In line with the establishment of the Hague Court, which he regarded as one of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century, the Interparliamentary Union, which he represented, demanded the creation of an International Congress and a general treaty of arbitration.

Judge William W. Morrow of the United States Circuit Court, San Francisco, in a brief and well-considered speech, took up the general question of international justice. One of his remarks brought out laughter: "Justice is always greater than executive force. The Supreme Court of the United States settles the cases that come before it without the use of the big stick."

Hon. John W. Foster expressed the opinion that an ideal treaty of arbitration, which he hoped would come in the future if not in our day, should embrace all differences which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic negotiations, without any reservation, and should include vital interests and questions of honor.

Señor Diego Mendoza, former Minister of the United States of Colombia, read a paper on "Bolivar's Prophecy of International Arbitration."

Judge George Gray of Delaware, in a speech in which he admitted that whatever the Hague Conference did, there would still be much display of war, said: "We have got to have international peace, even if we have to fight for it." He believed in developing public opinion in behalf of peace.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, the next speaker, though he had made brief remarks at two or three of the preceding meetings, had held himself in reserve for this appointment. Many people were particularly desirous to hear him, and when he came upon the platform during the speech of Congressman Bartholdt he received the recognition of great applause as well as an ovation when he rose to speak himself. Mr. Bryan, beginning in easy, natural tones, which he never for a moment left, although he made himself distinctly heard everywhere, showed what a masterly orator with deep sympathies can do with the moral side of the argument against war. He gave expression to the high idealism which characterized the Congress; his speech was clearly and finely developed and full of his own personality. He justified holding high peace ideals even though our armaments and war preparations seem inconsistent with them. On the practical side, he declared for making money a contraband of war like powder and lead, advocated regular sessions of the Hague Conference, and expressed himself in favor of the neutralization of territory. He believed that the Peace Congress should present to the world the thought that love is a greater force than physical violence. "If you tell me that you can promote peace by building big navies, so large that the world will be scared into peace," he said in one of his sentences, "I tell you that I prefer that the world shall be loved into peace and that affection should bind us together." (This great speech, which moved the Congress in a marvelous manner, we shall publish in full.)

DINNERS AT THE ASTOR AND WALDORF HOTELS.

Perhaps as surprising and gratifying a feature of the Congress as any, to those who were studying the popular interest taken in it, was the success of the great dinner which marked its close. Long before the Congress had opened the demand for tickets, the cost of each of which was four dollars, was so great that it was necessary to divide the guests between the Waldorf-Astoria and the Astor House, and two days before the banquet took place the sale of seats had to be stopped in order not to exceed the limit. Fully thirteen hundred people, many of them people of great distinction in public life, literature, education and society, sat at the tables. The large halls of both hotels were beautifully decorated with the flags of all nations, and with flowers and emblematic designs. Besides an orchestra, the Rubinstein Club was present at the Waldorf-Astoria and sang the Old-Netherlands "Hymn of Thanks." Mr. Carnegie was toastmaster at

the Astor House and Hon. Seth Low at the Waldorf-Astoria.

At the latter place Baron d'Estournelles, at the end of a short address, showed to those present the badge of Commander of the Legion of Honor, which he was about to present to Mr. Carnegie. The speakers of the evening were Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard, who spoke on German Ideals; Mr. Bryan, who made another speech quite as impressive as that of the afternoon, and again on the moral aspect of war; Archbishop Ireland, who proposed putting Christ in the forefront of the peace cause; Enrique C. Creel, Ambassador of Mexico, who brought a message of congratulation from President Diaz; Prof. John Bassett Moore, who spoke on the work already done for arbitration; Sir Robert Cranston, who touched upon the friendly relations between America and Great Britain; and Dr. Lyman Abbott, whose topic was the Unification of the World.

At the Astor House the speakers were Earl Gray, Governor-General of Canada, Señor Enrique Creel, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Samuel Gompers, Mr. Bryan, Ambassador James Bryce, and President Eliot of Harvard. The remarks of Dr. Hale were received with special sympathy and enthusiasm. In connection with the dinners, messages were received from the King of Norway, the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, ex-President Cleveland and others.

In presenting the badge of the Legion of Honor to Mr. Carnegie, Baron d'Estournelles said: "The French people recognize what you have done for the cause of humanity. They have a grateful appreciation of your efforts in the cause of universal peace. In token of that appreciation, and that they may give you a lasting memento of their consideration, they have delegated me to present you with a cross of a Commander of the Legion of Honor. I now take great pleasure in doing so."

The Baron himself pinned the token about Mr. Carnegie's neck. After the cheering which followed had subsided, Mr. Carnegie said: "This honor is as surprising as it is overwhelming. No one knows as well as I that it is not deserved, but if a heart keeps on growing larger with advancing years, if that merits a cross of the Legion of Honor, then I believe I do deserve it, for I find that with every year of my life I take more and more interest in humanity and devote more of my thought to my fellow man.

"That the cross came from France is doubly sweet. I know what an honor the Legion of Honor confers. Nobody but men of the highest merit are admitted to the honor of that order: nobody but men who have really done something are so decorated. I hope that I may always merit the honor France has conferred upon me, and that she may never regret having taken this step."

And so the great peace convention came to an end.

The Government and the Coming Hague Conference.

BY HON. ELIHU ROOT, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Address at the Opening of the National Peace Congress.

In every country which has reached a high state of civilization may be seen the working of two distinct and apparently inconsistent motives or principles in national

conduct. On the one hand, there is the narrow and immediately utilitarian motive, and there is the competitive attitude, fashioned upon the habits of self-preservation and self-assertion enjoined by the necessities of the struggle for existence. With this motive each country pursues specific national advantages, meeting in a hard, dry, businesslike way, without sympathy or sentiment, the facts of a world in which there is much selfishness and greed, in which every nation is primarily looking out for itself, and in which there is ordinarily some aggressor ready to take advantage of the over-trusting and defenseless.

On the other hand, there is the ethical, altruistic, human impulse that presses forward constantly toward ideals. Its possessors, loving liberty and justice and peace, long to make all men free and safe and secure in their rights; their eyes are fixed upon the ultimate goal toward which civilization tends; they are striving that better things shall replace the cynicism and selfishness and cruelty which have always so widely characterized mankind; they assert principles and set up standards of action, which they call upon mankind to adopt; and mankind too often gives theoretical assent, but denies practical conformity. In every man's nature there are manifestations or traces of each of these impulses; in every nation there are many citizens in whom one, and many in whom the other impulse strongly predominates. As circumstances bring one class of motives or another into control of national conduct in different fields of national action, strangely variant and inconsistent national action results. The same nation may be seen at one time hard and practical, at another, or perhaps in another field at the same time, exhibiting the highest degree of unselfishness and humanity. Under the predominance of one motive, national power has been built up; administration has been made effective; commerce has been extended; material wealth, the matrix of civilization, has been created and protected; the citizens of each country have been secured against aggression from without; and, in the slow process of centuries, the code of practical rules convenient and necessary to the peaceable intercourse of nations has been elaborated. Under the predominance of the other motive, the conception of individual charity and humanity, which found its highest expression in the Christian Revelation, has slowly impressed itself upon the conception of national duty and responsibility. In its development the idea of national conscience and national ethics has been forced into the international system which formerly acknowledged the undisputed sway of selfishness and cruelty, long condemned as immoral in the relations between individuals.

It is natural that the hard and practical motive shall be uppermost in the men engaged in the conduct of government; they are endowed with limited and definite powers and charged with specific trusts for the benefit of their own people; their duties are to protect and advance the interests of their own country, and those duties relate, in the main, to the material interests of their countrymen; their specific powers are given to them for that specific purpose; they have no warrant of attorney to express or give effect to the benevolent or humanitarian impulses of their constituents; under constitutional government, as a rule, such expression is not conferred by law upon public officers, but is reserved to the people.